DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 136 556 FL 008 311

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TITLE Language and Ethnic Boundaries.
PUB DATE Sep 76
NOTE 38p.; Paper presented at the Scandinavian Symposium on Bilingualism (1st, Esbo, Finland, September 29-30, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Bias; Biculturalism; Bilingual Education; *Bilingualism; Blacks; Cultural Pluralism; *Educational Policy; English (Second Language); Ethnic Groups; *Ethnic Relations; Immigrants; *Language Attitudes; Language Instruction; Minority Groups; Non English Speaking; Socialization; Sociolinguistics
IDENTIFIERS Canada; Language Maintenance; Language Shift; Lapps; Latin America; Sweden

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the phenomenon of group bilingualism, the origin of the contact situations which lead to it, and the role of language in maintaining ethnic boundaries, especially in revitalization movements. Language shift and language maintenance are seen as indicators of the degree to which ethnic boundaries are being maintained. Many ethnic groups are discussed and the case of the Swedish Lapps examined at length. (Author)

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ED136556

11-8-76pa

LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC BOUNDARIES

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Paper presented at the

First Scandinavian Conference on Bilingualism

Esbo, Finland

September 29 - 30, 1976

FL008311

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Recently, in examining a colleague's research on the Canadian immersion programs, it struck me forcibly what a bother the Canadian language situation is, what a tremendous outpouring of energy and money — and strife.[1] I commented how much easier it would all be if the Franco-Canadians would just give up their French. She looked at me quizzically, grinned, and said: "Of course." Now, that simple exchange illustrates a number of issues that need to be considered in a discussion of bilingualism.

The reason for her initial puzzlement was that she for a moment took my remark as a scholarly statement about optative language policy goals for French speaking Canada, although she knew very well that I was a supporter of cultural pluralism and concomitant bilingual education, and so she was puzzled. In other words, she was well acquainted with the particular bias with which I approach bilingualism and bilingual education. I am in favor of it. It is not only my bias; it is shared by every linguist and anthropologist I know of who does scholarly work on bilingualism and bilingual education. In all likelihood, it is a bias which is shared by most if not all of the participants at this conference. It is not a bias for which I apologize; rather I find it totally justified. But there is the crux; the burden is upon me to demonstrate such a justification and to do so on the basis of data and empirical facts. I find much writing and research on bilingualism and bilingual education flawed by a lack of objectivity, which influences the research designs as well as leads to unwarranted conclusions and speculations. The first Scandinavian

Conference on Bilingualism is an appropriate time to acknowledge our bias, because it is only by acknowledging it that we can adequately control for it in our work as well as allow the reader a more accurate interpretation of our scholarly opinions.

Once my colleague realized what I meant, she agreed. Language diversity within nations frequently leads to a number of problems, especially in the educational sector, which may not occur in a monolingual state. Attempts at solutions frequently carry a high economic cost; e.g. federal funding alone in the United States for bilingual education in 1977 is $118 million. A common rejoinder among my colleagues is "Good, let them build one less atomic submarine." In other words, the perception and evaluation of the social results of ethnic groups in contact become a matter of priorities. It is undeniable, just as my colleague did not attempt to deny it, that social life in Canada would be simpler with only one language. But to her mind as to mine, increased efficacy and economy of communication do not justify the enforced loss of cultural identity and way of life of a people, a choice of priorities which ultimately is based on moral values.

Frequently reason has little to do with attempts at solutions. It is not reasonable for students to riot and get killed because the authorities want to teach one language rather than another in the schools, yet I think we all understand the Black reaction to the introduction of Afrikaans instead of English in South Africa. Afrikaans is a very powerful symbol for the hated oppression, and as I write this, the riots are continuing. Clearly Afrikaans in and by itself was not the real reason behind the revolt, but rather the reason lay in the nature of the relationship between the subordinate Blacks and the dominant whites. In our discussions on bilingualism and bilingual situations, we need to recognize that often the problem has nothing or little to do with language <u>per se</u>.

The present language situation in the province of Quebec is a result of a power struggle between the economically dominant Anglo Canadians and the politically dominant Franco Canadians. Through legal measures, the French have been able to enforce a knowledge of French as a requisite for access to a number of jobs. As a result, about 50% of the English speaking children in Montreal enter kindergarten in French immersion programs, (programs in which French is used as a medium of instruction[2]), with the hope by their parents that they will learn sufficient French in school to be able to qualify for future positions. Language is used by the French as a mechanism for maintaining ethnic boundaries in order to deny English-speaking Canadians access to scarce jobs.

Language can similarly be used for the maintenance of ethnic boundaries in order to keep members within the group. The trilingual Old Order Amish is an example of a group who uses language for the maintenance of group boundaries both to keep their members in and outsiders out. The Pennsylvania Old Order Amish is a Protestant religious group characterized by:

> horse and buggies for transportation, no electricity in their homes, farm animals for farming, the occupation most engaged in, education only to the eighth grade, plain dress, refusal to accept government benefits such as social security, and the use of Pennsylvania Dutch, a German dialect from the speech of German Rhenish Palatinate, German, and English (Yoder 1976:2-3).

German is used for sermons, prayers, and bible reading from the Luther Bible, the 1534 translation from the Latin. Since Pennsylvania law requires school attendance until 15, many Old Order Amish spend an additional year after eighth grade in a special intensive program learning German, thus fulfilling the legal requirement while serving their own purpose. English is learnt in school and is used in any exchange with "English" or "gay" persons, as non-members are referred to. English is also used for non-religious reading. Pennsylvania Dutch is the mother

tongue and is spoken in the home, always at church related social activities, and often to other church members even in the "English" world, such as in the grocery store (Yoder 1976). Members have a strong feeling that

> German is the better form of the language, richer, deeper, more capable of expressing deep thoughts than either Pennsylvania Dutch or English. The deep thoughts in one's life are those relating to God. So take away German, and one has taken away that aspect of his life. (Yoder 1976:10).

For the deeply religious Amish, it is clear that the functional distribution of language use contributes to the motivation for staying within the church and for resisting the obvious temptations to join one of the less conservative churches, like that of the Mennonites, who do not have the same extreme restrictions on daily life. Nor do the Mennonites make similar use of language and indeed their present day high school generation is monolingual in English.

In this paper, I would like to examine the phenomenon of group bilingualism, the origin of the contact situations which lead to it, and the role of language in maintaining ethnic boundaries, especially in revitalization movements. We need to examine such issues because we will never be able to understand the nature of bilingualism if we consider it as a uniform phenomenon. Bilingualism may be a universal condition but it serves a variety of functions which need to be considered for an adequate understanding of the social consequences of group bilingualism. Furthermore, group bilingualism more often than not is not stable, and becomes the major mechanism of language shift, a phenomenon which is poorly understood (Fishman 1966; Lieberson et al.1975). Revitalization movements are likely to be a mechanism for language maintenance or language revival. Language shift and language maintenance, with or without concomitant bilingualism, are of course indicators of the degree to which ethnic boundaries are being maintained.

Gaarder (n.d.) makes the crucial distinction between elitist bilin-

lingualism and folk bilingualism. Elitist bilingualism is the hallmark of intellectuals and the learned in most societies, and one might add, of upper class membership in many societies as it certainly is in Scandinavia. It is a matter of choice. Not so with folk bilingualism which is the result of ethnic groups in contact and competition within a single state, where "one of the peoples become bilingual involuntarily in order to survive" (p.4). Elitist bilingualism is not likely to be a mechanism for language shift or maintenance, and in this paper I will only consider folk bilingualism.

In an earlier paper (C. B. Paulston 1975b), I drew on Schermerhorn's (1970) "Inductive typology" of Comparative Ethnic Relations in an attempt to analyze the consequences of bilingual education in North America, the direct result of ethnic groups in contact, and I would briefly like to review it here. Schermerhorn points out that "the probability is overwhelming that when two groups with different cultural histories establish contacts that are regular rather than occasional or intermittent, one of the two groups will typically assume dominance over the other," (1970:68), and he says elsewhere it is the nature of this dominance which is the major factor in ethnic relations (1972:379ff). The central question then in comparative research in ethnic relations (immediate causal factor of a group's bilingual status) is "what are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?" (1970:14). The percentage of members of a group who become bilingual can be seen as a concomitant condition of the degree of integration. Schermerhorn sees three major causal factors as determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration into the environing society. The first refers to the origin of the contact situation between "the subordinate ethnic and dominant groups, such as annexation, migration, and colonization," the second to "the degree of

enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations," and the third to "the degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society" (1970:15).

Lieberson, Dalto and Johnston in a quantificationally very sophisticated article on "The Course of Mother-Tongue Diversity in Nations" (1975) point out the failure of developmental factors, such as urbanization, to account for cross-national changes in language diversity. They consider the very rapid language shift in the United States: "For the descendants of literally tens of millions of immigrants, English became the mother tongue in a matter of a few generations (Lieberson and Curry 1971). It is reasonable to ask how it came about that the shift was so rapid in the United States compared with that in the vast majority of nations" (1975:53). They conclude, like Schermerhorn, that one must consider the origin of the contact situation and go on to "develop a theory which suggests that the course of race and ethnic relations will be different in settings where the subordinate group is indigenous as opposed to those where the migrant populations are subordinate" (1975:53). They consider, similarly to Schermerhorn to whom they refer, four groups: (1) indigenous superordinate, (2) migrant superordinate, (3) indigenous subordinate, and (4) migrant subordinate. They find it unlikely that much, if any, mother-tongue shift will occur among the first two groups. "Almost certainly a group enjoying both political and economic dominance will be in a position to ensure that its linguistic position is maintained. Bilingualism may occur, but this is not the same as mother-tongue shift: At the very most, one can normally expect only an extremely slow rate of mother-tongue change among such groups" (1975:53). The role of Swedish in Finland illustrates that point and gives us an example of an ethnic

group in demographic and political decline which uses its native tongue to maintain its boundaries for ethnic survival.(R. G. Paulston 1976b). Like the English-speaking Canadians in Quebec, the Swedish-speaking Finns lack political power in Finland and so are vulnerable to any legal measures the Finnish-speaking majority might institute in regards to Swedish. Presumably the status of Swedish as a lingua franca in Scandinavia (Skutnabb-Kangas 1975) and strong feelings of Scandinavian solidarity have contributed to the Finns' tolerance toward Swedish, but its continued role in Finland is best explained by the former superordinate status of its mother-tongue speakers.

Subordinate groups who are indigenous at the time of contact, either through colonization as in the case of the American Indians or through annexation as in the case of the Chicanos in the U. S. Southwest, are unlikely to change rapidly. Migrant subordinate groups are the only groups likely to show rapid rates of mother-tongue shift, as the recent migrant Finnish working-class population in Sweden illustrates in so rapid a shift that there is anecdotal evidence of difficulties of communication between parents and children. In the United States, as Lieberson et al. show, the immigrant experience was one of extra-ordinarily rapid shift. In contrast, within the same nation and with access to the same educational institution of public schooling, the indigenous subordinate groups have changed at a much slower rate. In 1940, 20% of the whites in Louisiana still reported French as their mother-tongue although the state had been purchased almost 150 years before, from France in 1803. In New Mexico, conquered in 1846, nearly 45% of the Native Parentage population (third or later generation) reported also in 1940, Spanish as their mother-tongue, which means that, since a fair proportion of this population was not of Spanish origin, much more than half of the Spanish-speaking population had not shifted (Lieberson et al. 1975). In contrast to Louisiana,

the Southwest has a steady trickle of new immigrants, legal and illegal, from Mexico, and no one really knows the exact rate of language shift, but Thompson (1974) calculates that in Texas Spanish has remained the mother-tongue for eighty percent of the third generation.

The Indian population probably has been the slowest to become bilingual. Lieberson et al cite census data which show that as recently as 1900 slightly more than 40% of the Indian population could not speak English. Many of those who did speak English also maintained their Indian mother tongue, and Lieberson et al concludes that "it is clear that mother-tongue shift was far slower than for the subordinate immigrant groups" (1975:56).

The degree to which these populations become bilingual in mother-tongue and English varies, and the fact that many don't has resulted in national recognition of that problem in the form of federal legislation of the so called Bilingual Education Act of 1968. The official intent of this act is the more efficient teaching of English through the transitional use of the mother tongue. The implementation of these programs, as I have written about elsewhere (C. B. Paulston, in press), is accompanied by considerable strife by school personnel who cite their own immigrant experience background as example that there is no need for bilingual education. The militant minority ethnic groups, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, the Navajos, refuse to accept the assimilationist goals of the programs, and instead talk about (and where they can implement) bilingual/bicultural maintenance programs. It is a clear group conflict situation, played out in the educational sector, where the ethnic groups are insisting on their rights to maintain their ethnic boundaries, much to the disapproval of the dominant Anglos.

These findings on language shift through a bilingual generation and language maintenance with or without concomitant bilingualism raise some

issues which are important for a more accurate understanding of the nature of bilingualism. They also illustrate, I think, the importance of a comparative approach in this field of study. The first question which comes to mind is why would the immigrant experience result in such rapid language shift with no apparent educational problems when the indigenous groups encountered such difficulties; why have the latter maintained their mother-tongue and what is the mechanism of language maintenance? It is clear, I think, that the mechanism of language shift in the United States has been bilingualism:

> Immigrant languages disappear because they do not transfer from one generation to the next. Typically in the United States the first generation prefers to speak the non-English tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third claims English as its mother tongue, learning the immigrant language mainly through contact with the grandparents. The Spanish language seems to be an exception. (Thompson 1974:7).

What is not clear are the factors which resulted in the language maintenance or slow rate of shift of the indigenous populations. Just what is the role of mother tongue language in the ethnic minority groups and why do these groups insist on maintenance bilingual programs rather than accept the transitional assimilation goals? In the remainder of the paper, I shall attempt to deal with these issues.

Language shift can be seen as an indicator of integration into the environing society, and we can rephrase the first question slightly; why did the immigrants to the United States integrate into the larger society more rapidly and completely than did the indigenous groups? As Lieberson et al point out, one reason was that the indigenous groups already had a set of social and cultural institutions in situ through which they attempted to pursue their preconquest activities. Another reason was that they tended to be spatially isolated.

These two reasons are both subsumed under Schermerhorn's variable of degree of enclosure. The less the two groups share socio-cultural insti-

tutions like the same churches, the same schools, the same jobs, the higher the degree of enclosure within that society. Schermerhorn points out that we do not have a very clear idea of the degree of enclosure of plural societies which are the result of annexation. In plural societies, "institutions of kinship, religion, the economy, education, recreation and the like are parallel but different in structure and norms. Ordinarily this is compounded by differences in language and sometimes by race as well" (1970:124). The relationship between degree of enclosure and the role of language in ethnic boundary maintenance processes is not understood, and I cannot think of any study which has examined this particular problem. Clearly it is an important topic for future investigation.

The degree of control by the Anglo dominant group over access to goods and services also influenced the situation. The contact situations within the same nation between the Anglo Americans and the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, the Amerindians, were all the result of military conquest. The Chicanos were segregated to one part of town and only given access to menial type jobs. The Indians were isolated on reservations where no opportunity for jobs existed. The immigrants, on the other hand, were given access to jobs. Brudner's thesis (1972) that jobs select language learning strategies is one that I have never found an exception to. When jobs were available which required a knowledge of English, the ethnic minority members became bilingual. Without access to rewards, English was and is not salient.

Schermerhorn also posits three intervening or contextual variables which modify the effect of the independent variables. The most important is the agreement or disagreement between dominant and subordinate groups on collective goals for the latter, such as assimilation or pluralism. Schermerhorn sets up a paradigm of which one purpose is to "specify the social contexts that can serve as intervening variables in answer to the

scientific query, 'under what conditions?'" (1970:85). He bases his discussion on Wirth's typology of the different policies adopted by minority groups in response to their unprivileged position.

> These policies he called assimilationist, pluralist, secessionist, and militant. Briefly, assimilationist policy seeks to merge the minority members into the wider society by abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness and adopting their superordinates' values and style of life. The pluralist strategy solicits tolerance from the dominant group that will allow the subordinates to retain much of their cultural distinctiveness. The secessionist minority aims to separate or detach itself from the superordinates so as to pursue an independent existence. Finally, the militants . . . intend to gain control over the dominants who currently have the ascendency (1970:78).

Schermerhorn points out that assimilation and pluralism really refer to cultural aspects while secession and militancy refer to structural.

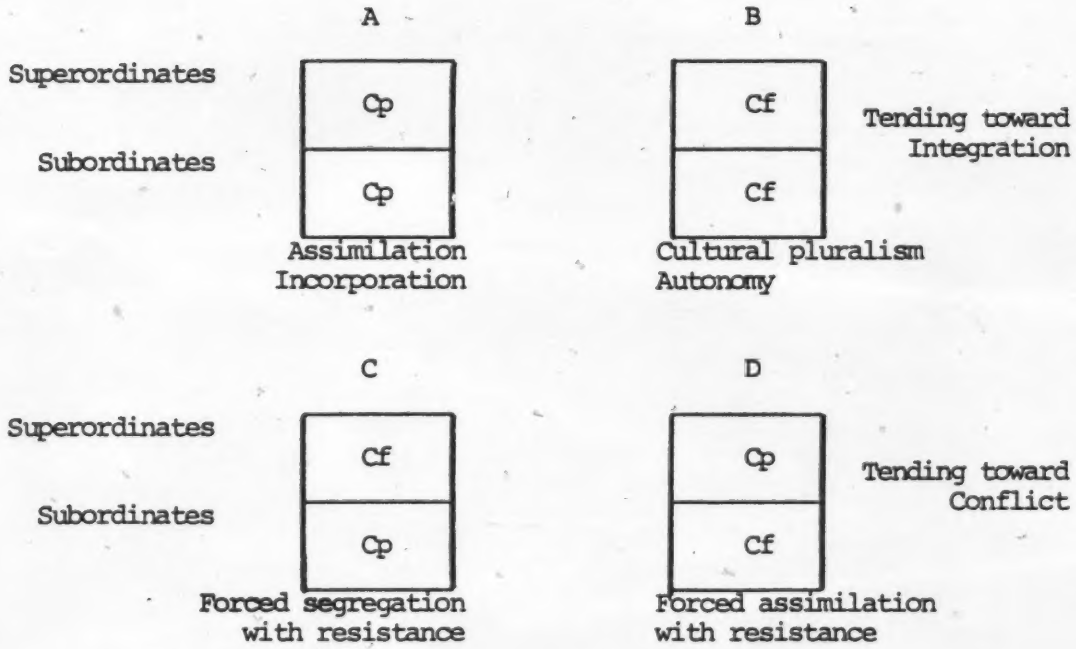
> To clarify this problem it is well to insist on the analytic distinction between culture and social structure. Culture signifies the ways of action learned through socialization, based on norms and values that serve as guides or standards for that behavior. Social structure, on the other hand, refers to "the set of crystallized social relationships which its (the society's) members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation" (Gordon, 1964:30-31). (1970:80)

In order to deal with the difficulty of applying cultural features to conditions which involve social features, he suggests the paired concepts of centripetal and centrifugal trends in social life. "Centripetal tendencies refer both to cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, styles of life, etc., as well as structural features like increased participation in a common set of groups, associations, and institutions" (1970:81). To keep the two aspects distinct, he calls the first assimilation, the latter incorporation.

> Centrifugal tendencies among subordinate groups are those that foster separation from the dominant group or from societal bonds in one respect or another. Culturally this most frequently means retention and preservation of the group's distinctive traditions in spheres like language, religion, recreation, etc., together with the particularistic values associated with them: Wirth's cultural requirements are needed, so there are demands for endogamy, separate associations, and even at times a restricted range of occupations (1970:81-2).

Schermerhorn's major point is that integration, which involves the satisfaction of the ethnic group's modal tendency, whether it be centripetal or centrifugal, depends on the agreement or congruence of views by the dominant and subordinate groups on the goals of the latter:

> Congruent and Incongruent Orientations Toward Centripetal and Centrifugal Trends of Subordinates as Viewed by Themselves and Superordinates.



Cp = Centripetal trends
Cf = Centrifugal trends (1970:83)

The immigrants' goals were clearly those of assimilation; they had voluntarily left "the old country" with its frequently unsatisfactory conditions behind. The indigenous groups, in contrast, did not seek contact with the dominant Anglos but found it imposed on them; their groups in their entirety were brought into the environing society with their culture intact. Today many subordinate ethnic groups in the United States do not want to abandon their cultural distinctiveness; rather they want access to goods and services, to the institutional privileges held by the English speaking middle class, i.e. economic incorporation but not assimilation. One important aspect of resisting assimilation is the maintenance of the mother tongue, in the same way as language shift is an important aspect of assimilation.

The goals for all non-English speaking groups as seen by the dominant group have always been assimilation, the acceptance of "the American creed," the socialization into American ways and values. Since this was also the goal of the immigrants, they willingly acquiesced to the assimilation process, and the relationship between the dominant group and the immigrants is best characterized by Cell A, a situation tending toward integration. Anything less became considered unpatriotic, and I have more than once when I criticized some feature of American life been told "if you don't like it here, why don't you go back to where you came from."

The indigenous groups, on the other hand, tended to resist assimilation, and their situation is symbolized by Cell D. It is slight wonder that, in a situation characterized by conflict, in which they resisted assimilation at the same time as they were denied access to goods and services and were separated institutionally from the English-speaking group, members of indigenous groups did not shift to English to the same degree and at the same rate as the immigrant group. The degree to which the indigenous groups became bilingual probably depended mostly on access

to jobs which required a knowledge of English; the degree to which they maintained the mother tongue probably depended most on the resistance against assimilation. The affluent Amish, who are an exception to the immigrant experience of rapid language shift, exemplify both these points. They are perfectly bilingual as their business dealings with the "gay" world necessitate a knowledge of English, which they learn primarily in the public schools. They have stubbornly resisted assimilation into American mainstream culture for religious reasons and not only have they maintained the mother tongue but also add standard German as an additional language, crucial to the transmittance of the group's basic values.

However, the use of census data to establish language shift as Lieberson et al. do masks the variation of language use between the various immigrant groups. Furthermore, assimilation is not necessarily an irreversible process. The United States has lately experienced a resurgence of ethnic awareness which brings into question the goal of complete assimilation for these ethnic groups. Elazar and Friedman discuss this new development of ethnic reaffirmation in American society in their perceptive Moving Up: Ethnic Succession in America (1976). They point out that ethnic identity has often been seen as a problem that must somehow be overcome. Social scientists have often considered religious and ethnic groups as "vestiges of a primitive past that are destined to disappear" (1976:4), but recent "writers on the 'new pluralism' have argued that racial, religious, and ethnic groups are a basic component of our social structure" (p. 5) who affect our institutions and at times are more powerful than economic forces in their influence.

As a result of the migration process, there has been a pattern of ethnic division of labor in the United States; e.g. the Irish have been drawn to local politics and civil service, the Slavic groups constitute a large part of labor in the coal mines and steel mills, while the Jews have

been active inter alia in family style businesses. Elazar and Friedman point out that large groups within the American populace continue to be "ethnic outs" in "various stages of their own struggle to become 'ethnic ins.'" These groups of Italian, Slovak, Polish, Jewish, Greek, Hungarian, and Ukranian background "are still struggling for recognition, upward mobility and the preservation of modest gains laboriously achieved after years of struggle" (p. 19). It is no coincidence that (with the exception of Jewish which is not a language) all of those languages are still natively spoken in Pittsburgh and mark group boundaries which are isomorphic with limited access to social rewards.

The capacity of the "outs" to change their status, say Elazar and Friedman, depend on their potential social and political power, their willingness to use unorthodox tactics, the extent of opposition, and their ability to evoke sympathy (p. 14). They have before them the example of the Blacks. Black gains during the 1960's and 1970's came about through ethnic solidarity and "were obtained primarily through the institutionalization of their own political strength" (p. 15), which during the sixties resulted in highly visible ethnic confrontations. The results of these ethnic confrontations led other groups to make demands — as groups. These demands come at a difficult time.

> From post-World War II through the late 1960's, America sustained rapid expansion and development of what has been called 'the metropolitan frontier.' There was a dramatic use of social, economic, and technical opportunities which the civil rights movement helped blacks to be able to take advantage of. Jobs, status and the good things of life were within the reach of growing numbers of Americans in an expanding economy (p. 21).

This expansion has now come to an end, and the present recession has exacerbated poverty and joblessness among the minorities. Unemployment has contributed to ethnic solidarity as the experience seems to show that competition for rewards is more successful when carried out by groups than

by individuals, and the group boundaries have been those of ethnicity. (R. G. Paulston 1976c).

One resource of ethnic groups which can be used in stressing ethnic awareness and identity of the members is the original mother tongue. Pittsburgh radio stations, as do others in the country, carry radio programs in Italian, Slovak, Croatian, etc. The Slovak community here, for example, offers a non-formal course in Slovak culture, cuisine, music, and language. Its students are from all social classes and all ages. Many Polish (for instance) families are changing their surname from the anglofied version back to the original Polish. At the University of Pittsburgh, a number of students of Polish, Greek, Hungarian, etc. background, who have completely shifted to English, are laboriously studying the language of their grandparents. Clearly this language learning will serve no immediate practical purpose but it does serve to reaffirm their ethnic identity and to reinforce old boundaries which in their case had become eliminated.

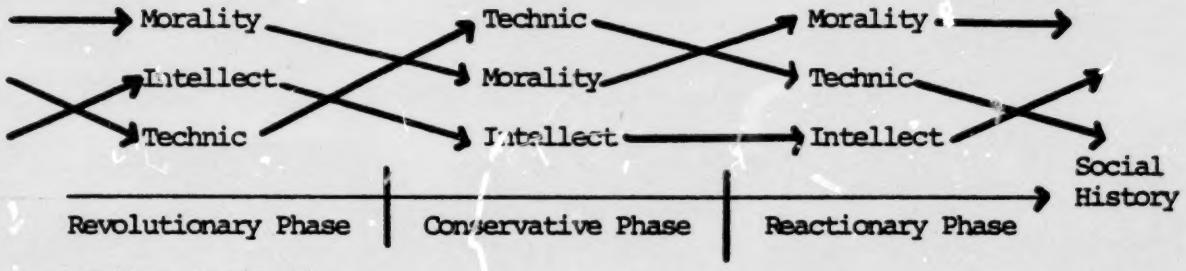
The most extreme form of ethnic mobilization occurs in what Wallace (1956) has termed revitalization movements, "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265). For Wallace, this process involves a cultural transformation of the group. For the purposes of this paper, I will extend the term to include ethnic revival movements as well (which may not be involved in a cultural transformation) since Wallace's concept of "revolutionary phase" (1975:22-23) applies to both movements.

In his "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies" (1975), Wallace discusses the learning priorities of the two types of society:

> What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society. And what he is expected to do determines what he is expected to learn (1975:21).

He outlines the following model of learning priorities:

Learning Priorities in Revolutionary, Conservative, and Reactionary Societies.



(Wallace 1975:26)

Wallace assigns very specific meanings to the terms technic, morality and intellect. By technic he refers to learning as a process of "reliability increase of action" through stimulus, reinforcement and motivation; technic is learning "how to." Morality, on the other hand, stresses "what." Morality concerns one particular kind of socially approved value:

> This kind of value is the conception that one's own behaviour, as well as the behaviour of others, should not merely take into consideration the attitude of the community, but should actively advance, or at least not retard, its welfare (1975:18).

Although most commonly practiced in the humble endurance of discomfort by inconspicuous people, it is "most conspicuously exemplified by such heroic actions as the soldier's throwing himself on a handgrenade in order to smother the blast and save his buddies" (1975:18). The criterion for morality is its potential for sacrifice, and all ethnic groups in the revolutionary phase have sacrificial heroes as leaders, i.e. leaders who are willing to risk freedom or life for the cause; Cesar Chavez and La Causa is a good example.

By intellect, Wallace refers to Jacques Barzun's metaphor in his The House of Intellect (1959) as an "establishment." Wallace cites Barzun:

> From the image of a house and its economy, one can see what an inquiry into the institution of Intellect must include. The main topics are: the state of the language,

> the system of schooling, the means and objects of communication, the supplies of money for thought and learning, and the code of feeling and conduct that goes with them. When the general tendency of these arrangements makes for order, logic, clarity, and speed of communication, one may say that a tradition of Intellect exists (1975:19).

Wallace concludes his discussion of intellect by pointing out that it is the only truly universal tool which is "capable of maintaining and restoring human arrangements against the erosions of time, capable of recognizing and solving new problems as well as learning answers to old ones" (1975:20).

A group, like the Nation of Islam (in common parlance often referred to as the Black Muslims), or an entire society, like Cuba, may enter a revolutionary phase when they perceive their present circumstances and state of affairs as intolerable to support further. The regressive response of individuals in the stage preceding a revitalization movement typically includes "alcoholism, extreme passivity and indolence, the development of highly ambivalent dependency relationships, intragroup violence, disregard of kinship and sexual mores, irresponsibility in public officials, states of depression and self-reproach, and probably a variety of psychosomatic and neurotic disorders" (1956:269). It is no accident that abstinence, hard work, independence, black brotherhood, the importance of the family unit, responsibility, and Black pride are some of the values most revered by members of the Nation of Islam (W. E. Mohammad 1976; see also Bilalian News).

As is typical and necessary in revitalization movements, the Nation of Islam has its charismatic leaders, especially the late Elijah Mohammad, who formulated "the nature of the existing culture's deficiencies, the nature of a desirable goal culture, and the nature and mode of operation of the transfer culture. This formulation must be more than an exercise of intellect: it must be passionately moral" (1975:22). It speaks for

the explicatory power of Wallace's theoretical framework of revitalization movements that it was formulated years before the creation of the Nation of Islam, yet it perfectly accounts for its development.

Groups undergoing a revolutionary phase will always stress moral learning, and conflicts are certain to arise when a revitalization movement takes place within a conservative society where technic has the highest learning priority, i.e. "in conservative societies, schools prepare people not for sacrifice but for jobs" (R. G. Paulston 1972:478). Indeed, wherever possible, the Nation of Islam has its own private schools in order to be able to implement its own learning priorities of "moral transformation of the population" (Wallace 1975:23). The success of a revitalization movement within a larger society, such as the economic and cultural success of the Nation of Islam, depends on the larger society's tolerance for cultural pluralism. The extreme respectability of the members in dress and an emphasis on moral values which are not in conflict with those of the mainstream culture presumably have contributed to this success. Nor has there been any attempt to use language, so called non-standard Negro English or Black English, in the process of defining the group's new identity.

The success of the Nation of Islam contrasts sharply with the fate of another Black revitalization movement, the Black Panther Party. The second learning priority in a revolutionary phase is intellect, and says Wallace, the moral intellectuals often appear as fanatics to the conservative society. It is interesting to speculate that the failure of the Black Panthers partially was due to an emphasis on intellect rather than on morality and to the lack of a consistently outlined goal culture as the Nation of Islam very carefully had done:

> The Panthers, however, like many other groups before them had a number of shortcomings. Probably the main one was the lack of a thorough radical analysis and coupling that with a strong, organized set of strategies

> and programs. As with many other groups, publicity and their image may have clouded their own ideas of what they wanted to do. But, when as they sometimes seemed to be doing, the leadership changed its views so often, with not enough outside feedback to guide them, they did amazingly well . . .(Mason 1976:56).

The very point is that leadership in revitalization movements is messianic and does not depend on outside feedback nor is the moral teaching of goals frequently changed. The Black Panthers were militant; they carried loaded weapons; while still legal; cited Malcolm X, the assasinated Black leader, Mao Tse-tung and Marx; and some with Eldridge Cleaver called for underground terrorist-type activities. Huey Newton, a cofounder, titled his book To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton (1972). The larger society considered them as fanatics and showed no tolerance: Cleaver went eventually into exile for many years, and Newton was jailed for the murder of a policeman (he was freed in 1970 after two years in jail). Says Mason, "The trial of Huey P. Newton itself is regarded by many educators, as well as lawyers, ordinary black citizens, etc. as truly revealing the racist character of the legal system" (1976:24).

The writings of the Black Panthers are also in impeccable standard English, but intheir speeches there are occasional occurences of Black English for stylistic effect, to mark group solidarity. Ethnic groups typically use its mother tongue or dialect to such purpose, and the reluctance in both Black revitalization movements to use Black English reflects its stigmatized status as a former creole. To members of the Nation of Islam, Black English is associated with the conditions of life before their cultural transformation and plays no part in the group's moral teaching. It should be recognized that this is an unusual situation in revitalization movements.

Language skills in the official language can ordinarily be seen as an aspect of technic, an aspect of preparation for jobs, which is the

major priority of learning in a conservative society. The mother tongue, on the other hand, is an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural uniqueness of the ethnic group, underscoring the need to teach the moral values of good and evil, right and wrong, the values of the old gods, in the language in which those values were originally transmitted. Reaffirmation of cultural values are frequently a part of the moral teaching, especially among ethnic groups who prior to the revitalization movement have been taught by the dominant group to have nothing but contempt for their own culture.

The conflict over learning priorities explains the extreme importance of control over local educational institutions. I have frequently heard commented among my colleagues that the best bilingual schools are those that are under community control — be it Navajo or Chicano. I am not certain what "best" means in this connection. In my discussion of the Erickson report (1969) in an earlier paper, I pointed out that "rhetoric about cultural pluralism accounts for little if the objectives are not implemented (C. B. Paulston 1975a:25); the community-run Navajo school, as measured by the achievement test batteries from the California Test Bureau, was markedly inferior to the government-run school academically. I was at the time only interested in investigating the learning of English language skills, but even so that statement — and the evaluation itself — shows our typical tendency to assess and evaluate the schooling of groups undergoing a revitalization movement with moral learning as the priority, in terms of the standards of the conservative society — the standards of technic.

The following case study of "Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lapland" (R. G. Paulston 1976a) illustrates the importance of autonomy over educational programs by the group in a revitalization phase. It illustrates once again the tendency to intolerance of cultural pluralism

by the larger society except when it sees its own purposes furthered; consistently, when the national economy favored reindeer herding, the collective goals for the Lapps as seen by Swedish officials included the use of Lappish and support of Same culture; otherwise, the goals were Swedish and assimilation. We also see here the typical support (maintenance and/or revival) of the mother tongue in ethnic revival movements.

Swedish government relations with the Lapps began with the Lappmark edict of 1673 which sought to open the Lapp's traditional homeland to Swedish settlers and the State Church.[3] This document promulgated a policy of minority integration, along with descriptions of stereotypical minority attributes, that has continued in large part down to the present day (cited in Ruong 1969b:203). It states that:

> (1) Lapps should devote themselves to reindeer breeding in the mountain areas, a task for which they are best suited.
>
> (2) Swedish settlers should have the right to take land from the Forest Lapps, to hunt and fish on Lapp lands, and to burn and clear Lapp land.
>
> (3) The Lapps are a barbaric people from elsewhere without legal title to the land they use. They are lazy and useless in war.

In the following centuries, two themes pervaded ethnic relations. The dominant theme called for Lapps to withdraw before the advance of Western economic penetration. Lapps might indeed join this advance by rejecting their language and other core cultural traditions and becoming Swedes.

The second and lesser theme, that the Lapp minority should be preserved and protected, largely through paternalistic efforts of the Swedish State Church, became increasingly important in the 19th century as traditional Lapp nomad society disintegrated under the onslaught of expanding Scandinavian societies. With a cultural-revitalization movement

led by the minister Lars Laestadius, the ensuring strengthening of social responsibility, and the increased value of reindeer herding in the national economy, educational policy for the Lapps shifted emphasis from acculturation to socialized isolation (Nordberg 1956; Ruong 1969b). By about World War I, what might be called the "conservationist" ideology had gained predominance and became embodied in the Normal School Reform of 1913. The Act's rationale, both economic and educational, is clearly apparent in the position stated by the Bishop of Luleå, a leader of the school reform and the religious head of the Lappmark (cited in Ruong 1969b:142):

> Lapps lack the physical attributes necessary for regular, heavy manual labor and therefore fall into deep poverty and misery when they adopt a settled way of life. If, on the other hand, they continue with reindeer breeding, they can count upon a secure source of livelihood. It is, accordingly, of national economic interest that the Lapps retain their inherited source of livelihood.

The vast tundra and mountain areas of Northern Scandinavia could, at that time, be most economically exploited as pasture for reindeer, and herding required that the Lapps live a nomadic existance. Thus, the question of "What is an appropriate education for Lapp children?" became clearly linked to the importance of reindeer breeding for the national economy. Or as stated in the 1913 school reform, "a Lapp shall be a Lapp, for then he serves his motherland best." Swedish educational policy continued, especially with the 1928 Reindeer Pasture Act, wherever possible to keep the Lapp children within Lapp culture and the nomadic economy (Ruong 1969b).

Following World War II, the conservationist policy came under heavy attack from Lapps seeking greater educational opportunity, and from the Swedish Government which had replaced the Church in the control of Lapp schooling. The Swedish Missionary Society's educational efforts then focused almost entirely on the Lapp's Folk High School founded during

World War II (1942) and located above the Artic Circle at Jokkmokk after 1945. In this residential "folk college," Same youth in their late teens received training in general citizenship, local and national history, reindeer breeding, and other practical subjects. Continuing the "Lapp will be Lapp" orientation, students were encouraged not to let the two-year course seduce them away from reindeer herding. A policy statement at that time, for example, stressed that:

> Not by following Sweden and things Swedish, but by promoting your mother tongue will you be best fitted to contribute to the common treasures of the fatherland. As Lapps, it is through following your own ways of living and by remaining faithful to your culture that you will keep your place as a part of the Swedish nation (Ruong 1969a:142).

Many young Lapps leaving the Lapp Folk High School returned to the herding way of life, and a number became leaders in subsequent ethnic organizational development, as in the Swedish Reindeer Herders Association founded in 1950. Others became school teachers and taught Same children in settled communities and in nomad schools. A third very small group moved into mainstream Swedish society and culture through subsequent professional training. But a number of these assimilated Lapps maintained feelings of ethnic solidarity with their Same origins and a concern for greater social justice in Same attempts to fend off powerful state and private interests seeking the continued economic exploitation of Lapland's rich natural wealth of minerals, timber, water, and scenery (Wallmark 1958).

Thus, by the 1950's Swedish authorities offered two distinct educational programs for Same children. For those who lived by reindeer herding, the Nomad Schools, which had become fixed and residential, continued to stress skills and values thought necessary for a nomadic life. For children of the growing number of Same employed in forestry, agriculture, and fishing, regular primary and, less frequently, secondary schools

were built in rural areas — schools taught entirely in Swedish and attended by Swedish youth, schools where the Lapp language and culture were viewed as inferior, and where Lapp ethnic identity was undesirable and, when possible, to be denied. School failure of Lapp children was and is common. In their public school experiences, generations of Same youth have learned that being a Lapp and speaking Lappish was strongly associated with defeat, contempt and poverty (With 1967; Östlund 1973).

With increasing pressure from the Swedish Social Democratic Government for the acculturation and out-migration of Same youth, with continued serious infringement of forest and pasture land by "clear-cutting" forestry practices, by tourism, by mining and water-power development interests, et al., the Lapps, a distinct people with thousands of years of traditions as an ethnic community, began to seriously doubt their ability to survive in the early 1950's (Wallmark 1958; Park 1959; Otnes 1970; Lundegard 1973).

Until recently, upwardly mobile Lapps could avoid career defeat only by "paying" with their identity. One was either a Lapp, a Swede, a Norwegian, or a Finn. The few Same who achieved assimilation, or any Same for that matter, rarely protested this cost-mechanism (Porsanger 1965). A few exceptions can be found, mostly among teachers, or isolated individuals who by paying the price had come to know the ideal democratic ideology of the dominant segment, and by simple transfer had come to see the plurification process as an injustice to a cultural minority (Eidheim 1968). By attempting to point out what might be viewed as a moral injustice according to the dominant group ideology, they jeopardized their careers, were denounced as threats to national security by their superiors, and were generally viewed with alarm by Lapps who rightfully feared the consequences of such public

role-mixing. Most early Lapp critics of existing ethnic relations and internal colonization in Lapland were crushed. A few promoted such non-controversial "minority activities" as folk arts and crafts in efforts to maintain Same identity while filling roles reserved to the dominant segment.

Following World War II, a number of important changes at the national and international level created new conditions favorable to efforts of Lapp intellectuals with support from individuals and institutions in the dominant segment to create a Same ethnic movement. This collective effort brought together for the first time those who identified with Lapp culture and sought to address serious economic and cultural problems resulting from the position of structured inequality that the Same had long occupied in the national society. Simultaneously, rapid economic growth and agressive exploitation of natural resources in traditionally Lapp areas had seriously detrimental effects on the herding economy (Svensson 1970). At the international and national levels, wartime efforts by Nazi Germany to exterminate the Jewish ethnic minority, and strong Scandinavian support for the United Nations' work on human rights, helped to bring the problem of ethnic survival home and to stimulate national debate on the rights and status of under-privileged minorities within the Scandinavian countries (Fimerstad 1973). Accordingly, the dominant segment became more conscious of supposed injustices in the plurification system, and with support from influential professors, teachers, radical socialists and others, Same ethnic activists gained a consensus of sorts as to a movement rationale and program (Otnes 1970; Svensson 1970).

Since the 1950's the Same cultural-revival movement has sought to mobilize minority identity through the creation of new organizations that embody the movement's ideology of survival and resistance to

acculturation (Eidheim 1968).

These groups, in turn, have brought pressure on institutions of the dominant society to respond favorably to Lapp demands for altered ethnic relations, for a more culturally pluralistic society where Same cultural survival and Same participation will be accepted as legitimate national concerns. Lapp organizations in the past decade, for example, have called for a number of basic changes in the nine-year comprehensive school that most of their children attend. This reform program places iorities on bilingual instruction in Lappish and Swedish during the early grades, the creation of bilingual teacher-training programs, a revised curriculum including Same history and cultural themes, and a secondary school program especially adapted to the needs of reindeer-herding culture and management.

The conflict of interests that arise from intensifying government efforts to assimilate and incorporate the Lapps into the Swedish Welfare State, and Lapp efforts to move towards a more autonomous situation in a more culturally pluralistic society are clearly evident in the schools.

Same students, despite recent special educational arrangements, continue as a group to be under-achievers, withdrawn, and seemingly unable to succeed in national schools. A well-known Lapp educator, the Norwegian Anton Hoem, contends that the causes are to be found in competing and conflicting ideologies -- i.e., those of the ethnic movement, and those of the national society:

> The investments in special teacher training, textbooks, and literature in Lappish, introduction of Lappish language and culture as subjects are efforts to raise the efficiency of teaching within the established system. They are not efforts to adapt the school to the particular needs and values of Lappish society. Therefore, one will find different standards. In fact, the more efficient the teaching, the greater the discrepancy between goals of education at home and in the school . . . The main

> results are a cultural and social gap between the most successful pupils and the local Lapp society, and a barrier between losers and the nationwide system (Hoem 1968).

Same movement activists have come to recognize that formal schooling, despite gestures toward bilingual instruction, is essentially about the business of assimilation and social control, and not the strengthening of cultural pluralism. They have, accordingly, in the past few years sought to develop an alternative educational setting where movement ideology could be developed to shape goals, new learning, and action strategies. The Lapp Folk High School, a residential school for young adults at Jokkmokk in the Forest Lapp area above the Arctic Circle, has begun to carry out this function but only with protracted conflict with the local Commune authorities who reject the legitimacy of "Lapp Power" slogans, the Same ethnic-revival movement, and the emergence of a Lapp-controlled folk school (Lidroth 1974). Despite local pressures and forceful arguments by a number of Commune leaders to change the school's name and orientation from the Lapp's Folk High School to something like "Jokkmokk Commune's F. H. S.," a small core of Same activists have, during the past several years, used the school to develop an educational strategy seeking to mobilize individual Same into a politicized ethnic-interest group (Östlund 1973).

Although the Same remain a minority on the folk high school's board of directors and must share control with representatives of the provincial government and the antagonistic local Commune, a number of notable innovations have been secured, albeit with growing animosity between Lapp students and the Swedish population both at Jokkmokk and throughout Northern Sweden. Studies of how ethnic groups mobilize for political action suggests a number of basic problems that each group must solve (Barth 1969). These include questions about the distinctiveness of the group, and the need for agreement on standards by

which group members can judge themselves and others and determine who lies within the ethnic boundary, and who lies without. These concerns, as well as problems of communication, decision-making, authority and the legitimate use of power, of ideology and discipline, and of the indoctrination necessary to keep ideology alive have all been addressed by educational activities at the Lapp's FHS. Before examining these activities, it may be useful to note that ethnicity has previously been viewed here as a phenomenon useful in the categorization of people. At the folk school, ethnicity has also been a tool employed strategically by movement activists seeking to assist Same youth to negotiate new individual identities, commitments to struggle, as well as the learning of organizational and communications skills needed to advance the movement's manifest goals of Same cultural revival and ethnic-minority survival.

Where the Swedish Missionary Society used the Lapp's Folk High School during the 1940's and 1950's to further the national ethnic policy of socialized isolation, today, Lapp activists fight to gain complete control of the school and use it to address their problems and dreams of survival as an ethnic minority in a pluralistic society. Where earlier many of the Reindeer Herder's Association leaders had their first training in formal organizational life and social science at the school, today special courses are offered that focus on problems of collective action and minority mobilization. These critical seminars are taught and attended by Lapps of different socio-economic backgrounds and seek to unify the Lapps as an ethnic group. Lapps from the mountains, the forests, and the cities with differing professions and life-styles meet, discuss, and develop movement ideology and action strategies to strengthen ethnic identification and to gain greater acceptance from a strongly ethnocentric Swedish society.

Courses in the Lapp language are also provided and related to the movement's literary and journalistic activities. Classes in Lapp history and handicrafts, in reindeer management, and administrative techniques all view Same culture from perspectives that seek to raise students' consciousness of ethnic membership and the legitimacy of the group's dreams of survival and autonomy. The critical seminars, especially, have frequently been starting points for reformulating the movement's ideological framework, i.e., the "world view" from which most Lapp political actions follow. The joint Nordic Lapp Culture Policy Statement of 1970 entitled, in English, "We are Lapps and Want to Remain Lapps" clearly indicates efforts in stating the movement's argument and goals (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund 1975). It is also a document that owes much to the educational and political work of Same movement activists and supporters at the Lapp's Folk High School.

The Lapp's Folk High School today presents an example of an educational institution actively seeking to advance a process of ethnic revival, confrontation and resistance to acculturation that is for the most part viewed unfavorably by members of the dominant society. At the local level, Swedes press for rapid acculturation and incorporation through, if necessary, forced assimilation. At the national level, assimilation is sought instead through a policy of "tvåkulturell utbildning," or bicultural education where Swedish and Same studies will supposedly be given equal value and emphasis (Norrbottenslän 1968). So far, Same activists have been largely able to subvert this policy at Jokkmokk and stress the latter. But as this tolerant situation may end at any time, the ethnic movement is pressing for a state-supported rural folk high school under complete Same control (Östlund 1973:287-88).

While most Lapps are sympathetic to the movement's broad goals, many express concern about the possible consequences of conflict. One

and we don't fight. Our culture is primitive, and I suppose we have to give in to the stronger one." Many younger Lapps reject the resignation of their elders and, under the rubric of "Lapp Power," seek to fight back: "We are not Norwegians, Swedes, or Finns. We are different and we intend to stay that way." It is this small activist group which seeks to make the Lapp's Folk High School its own, much to the consternation of many fearful Lapps, the Jokkmokk Commune, and the National Board of Education (Lidroth 1974; Sammallaht, 1975).

Conclusions

It is clear that language maintenance of an ethnic group reinforces the boundaries between that group and the larger society. Boundary maintenance reinforces the ethnic identity of a group and is undertaken for a number of reasons: religious, as in the case of the Amish; politico-economical, as in the case of the French speaking Canadians; or economic, as in the case of the immigrant American Italian, Slovak, Polish, etc. groups. Often, the major function of language in boundary maintenance is to enable a group to resist assimilation: this is as true of the former superordinate, migrant Finlandssvenskarna as it is of the subordinate, indigenous Lapps who both use language as a weapon in the fight for ethnic survival.

The degree to which a group becomes bilingual depends partly on the larger society's willingness to let that group assimilate, to grant that group access to the social institutions, and partly on the availability of jobs which require a knowledge of the official language. The Canadian French immersion programs form a very good example of how job language requirements influence language learning strategies.

Group bilingualism is frequently accompanied by language shift to the official language when there are ample, material rewards in so

parallel institutions are open. The French Canadians, who massively shifted to English (and gave cause to the legal measures) in spite of parallel institutions of church, school, recreation, etc., are a case in point. Many migrant superordinate groups do not seem able to maintain their original mother tongue once they are (legally-politically) separated from the home culture as in the case of the Normans and the Franks; probably demographic factors were also at issue (Thomason and Kaufman n.d.). Spanish certainly has been maintained in colonized Latin-America. It is a temptation to claim that language shift takes place when the socio-economical and political rewards of a nation, which are accessible, favor such a shift, but it is likely to be a simplification. It is a claim which is likely to account for the majority of situations of language shift but it will not necessarily account for situations where one would expect language shift but does not find it. It may be that the spatial isolation of the Lapps can account for the maintenance of Lappish, but it is more likely to be an expression of ethnic identity which will not be surrendered, a mechanism of ethnic boundary maintenance.[4]

Linguists do not have a clear understanding of these issues, and my contention is that in order to understand the nature of bilingualism we need to consider the relationship of these issues. In this paper I have indicated the direction I believe such a discussion should take, but it is very obvious that this paper is only a beginning.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper is co-authored in that the Same case study is written by R. G. Paulston and the rest of the paper by C. B. Paulston. The case study is a much shortened version of the original "Ethnic Revival and Education Conflict in Swedish Lapland."

2. For references to the research on the Canadian immersion programs, see Merrill Swain's "Bibliography: Research on Immersion Education for the Majority Child."

3. The following excerpts are from R. G. Paulston's "Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lapland," Comparative Education Review, 20:2, 1972, 179-192. Permission to reprint is gratefully acknowledged.

4. It should be pointed out somewhere that many members of the ethnic groups discussed in this paper do shift languages and assimilate into the larger society, and that this discussion deals with what sometimes amounts to a minority within a minority.

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